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NODIS

FOL ROME 11808 SENT ACTION SECSTATE JUNE 26, 1978 REPEATED
TO YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T ROME 11808

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SUMMARY. DURING COURSE OF EIGHT HOURS OF CONVERSATION,
JUNE 22-25, ANGOLAN PRIME MINISTER NASCIMENTO, AND MPLA
CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER LUVUVALU AND U.S. REPS MCHENRY
AND JUNIOR EXPLORED FULL RANGE OF QUESTIONS OF MUTUAL INTEREST
BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS; NAMIBIA/ANGOLAN OUTLOOK;
OBJECTIVES AND PHILOSOPHY; ANGOLAN/ZAIRIAN RELATIONS,
ANGOLAN INTERNAL RECONCILIATION; CUBAN PRESENCE; AND
OUTLOOK FOR NORMALIZATION USG/GOA RELATIONS. ATMOSPHERE
WAS CORDIAL, FRANK EXCHANGE THE KEY NOTE. FULLER
APPRECIATION OF VIEWPOINTS, BUT NO QTE BREAKTHROUGHS
UNQTE ACHIEVED. BELIEVE BASIS ESTABLISHED FOR ONGOING
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FRUITFUL EXCHANGES WHICH COULD LEAD TO SUBSTANTIAL
IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

BACKGROUND

1. AT INVITATION GOA PRESIDENT NETO, MCHENRY
AND JUNIOR BEGAN BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON MATTERS
OF MUTUAL INTEREST AT MPLA PARTY HEADQUARTERS ON JUNE 22.
TALKS CONTINUED THROUGH JUNE 25 IN SERIES OF TWO HOUR
SESSIONS. NASCIMENTO LED ANGOLAN SIDE (IN ABSENCE OF
NETO IN GUINEA/BISSAU) AND WAS ACCOMPANIED THROUGHOUT

(EXCEPT FINAL SESSION JUNE 25) BY PASCUAL LUVUALU, MEMBER OF MPLA CENTRAL COMMITTEE, ALTERNATE MEMBER OF POLITICAL BUREAU, CHARGED WITH FOREIGN AFFAIRS BY THE PARTY.

2. NASCIMENTO WAS CLEARLY IN LEAD WITH ONLY OCCASIONAL COMMENTS FROM LUVUALU. ATMOSPHERE WAS RELAXED AND BOTH SIDES HAD FULL OPPORTUNITY TO EXPOSE THEIR POINTS OF VIEW.

3. FOR BREVITY, FOLLOWING REPORT FOCUSES PRIMARILY ON ANGOLAN EXPOSITION, WITH REFERENCE ONLY TO POINTS OF PRIMARY INTEREST MADE BY U.S. SEPARATE TELEGRAMS UNDER PREPARATION WILL REPORT ON RELATED SUBJECTS.

ANGOLAN POLICY PRINCIPLES

4. NASCIMENTO SAID HE WISHED TO LEAD HIS REMARKS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES BY SKETCHING THE PRINCIPLES WHICH DRIVE ANGOLAN POLICY. HE WOULD ARRANGE FOR HIS VISITORS TO TOUR LUANDA TO SEE THE HARSH REALITIES WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT FACES: THE FUNDAMENTAL NEED FOR
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FOOD, HOUSING, CLOTHING AND MEDICAL CARE FOR THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE. IT WAS THOSE REALITIES WHICH SHAPE ANGOLAN POLICY. YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE HAD CREATED IN ANGOLA A VISION OF WHAT INDEPENDENCE MEANS. THE ANGOLANS LOOK TO THE GOVERNMENT TO FULFILL ITS PROMISES. THE ANGOLANS HAVE OPTED FOR SOCIALISM. USUALLY THE SOCIALIST EXPERIENCE IN AFRICA HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN SOLVING THEIR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. BUT THE ANGOLANS WERE DETERMINED THAT THEIR SOCIALISM WOULD BE ONE OF WELFARE, NOT OF MISERY.

5. HOWEVER, AT INDEPENDENCE, THE PORTUGUESE HAD "REMOVED" MORE THAN 30,000 KEY TECHNICIANS, THE CADRE VITAL TO RUNNING WHAT WAS THEN THE "MOST ADVANCED INFRASTRUCTURE" IN SUB-SAHARANN AFRICA. IT WAS NOW UP TO THE ANGOLANS TO MAKE GOOD THAT LOSS, TO MAKE THIS INFRASTRUCTURE RUN. WE ARE THEREFORE DETERMINED TO SUBSTITUTE THOSE 30,000 TO SOLVE OUR COMPLEX, INTERNAL PROBLEMS. NOTING WITH APPRECIATION THE ASSISTANCE OF U,000 CUBAN TECHNICIANS, NASCIMENTO NEVERTHELESS NOTED, "WE RPT WE MUST RESOLVE THEM, NOT OUR FRIENDS."

6. COMMENT: THIS THEME WAS THE CORE OF THE ANGOLAN PRESENTATION, AND COLORED THE ANGOLAN VIEW ON EVERY ISSUE: THE NEED FOR PEACE, FOR SECURITY, FOR FREEDOM FROM MULTIPLE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL THREATS IN ORDER TO DEVOTE ANGOLAN RESOURCES TO RESOLUTION OF THE

MASSIVE DEVELOPMENTAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE
ANGOLAN SOCIETY.

NAMIBIA

7. TWO OUTSTANDING POINTS OF CONTENTION, WALVIS BAY
AND LOCATION OF RESIDUAL SAG TROOPS, WERE THOROUGHLY
EXPLORED. ON WALVIS BAY, NASCIMENTO SAID THAT, WHILE
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ISSUE IS ONE TO BE SETTLED SUBSEQUENTLY, IT IS FUNDA-
MENTAL THAT INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND SECURITY COUNCIL
BE FIRM, AND AFFIRM THAT AREA IS INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA.
THERE MUST BE SURETY THAT SAG AND AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA
WILL ENTER INTO NEGOTITIONS. A "BETTER IDEA," SAID
NASCIMENTO, WOULD BE TO DEFINE AND STIPULATE A TIME-
FRAME FOR HANDOVER OF WALVIS BAY TO NAMIBIA.

8. AFTER EXAMINATION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL/POLITICAL
IMPLICATIONS OF WHERE SA TROOPS SHOULD BE LOCATED, AND
OF POSSIBLE WAYS TO ASSURE THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SAG
AND SWAPO, NASCIMENTO AND MCHENRY AGREED SUBJECT SHOULD
BE PURSUED DIRECTLY WITH SWAPO FOLLOWING CURRENT TALKS
IN PRETORIA.

9. COMMENT: NASCIMENTO MADE NO COMMITMENTS BUT SAID,
"WE MUST WORK FAST AND TOGETHER" ON NAMIBIA. HE ADDED
THAT SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES ARE MASSING ON THE SOUTHERN
BORDER WITH UNITA AND THAT SAG WISHES TO PRESS THE
COURSE OF EVENTS IN NAMIBIA SO AS TO PRESENT THE
UN WITH A "FAIT ACCOMPLI." WE HAVE IMPRESSION
GOA WILL USE ITS INFLUENCE FAVORABLY WITH SWAPO.

ANGOLA/ZAIRE

10. NASCIMENTO SAID HE WANTED TO AFFIRM WHAT HE
HAD TOLD SECRETARY VANCE IN NEW YORK. "THE ANGOLAN
GOVERNMENT HAD HAD NO DIRECT NOR INDIRECT INVOLVE-
MENT" IN THE SHABA AFFAIR. "THE SAME WE CAN SAY FOR THE
SOVIETS AND CUBANS."

11. NASCIMENTO, IN SUMMARY, WENT ON TO ATTACH THE
MOBUTU GOVERNMENT, ONE WHICH CREATED MANIFOLD PROBLEMS
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FOR THE ANGOLANS. IN ITS CORRUPTION AND MISMANAGEMENT
IT HAD CREATED TRIBAL PROBLEMS (PARTICULARLY AMONG THE
LUNDA) WHICH IMPACT HEAVILY ON ANGOLA.

12. RATHER THAN STRIFE AND UNREST IN SHABA, ANGOLA

WANTED TO SEE A VIABLE ECONOMY, ONE WHICH CREATED NO ESSENTIALLY TRIBAL PROBLEMS BUT ONE WHICH WOULD ENSURE THAT THE ECONOMY AND THE INFRASTRUCTURE WORKED. SPECIFICALLY, ANGOLA HAD A HEAVY BURDEN IN ASSISTING THE ROUGHLY 200,000 ZAIRIAN REFUGEES. MOREOVER, THE BENGUELA RAILROAD HAD BEEN CONSTRUCTED TO SERVICE THREE ECONOMIES: ZAMBIAN, ZAIRIAN AND ANGOLAN. NOW THE RAILROAD WAS RUNNING, BUT SERVING ANGOLA ONLY AND ON AN UNECONOMIC BASIS. "WE NEED THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE" A FULLY FUNCTIONING RAILROAD WOULD PROVIDE. "GOODS, BE THEY CAPITALIST, SOCIALIST OR COMMUNIST, ARE BOUGHT WITH DOLLARS."

13. RECOGNIZING THE DANGERS IN THE PROBLEM WITH ZAIRE, NOT WANTING TO BE ACCUSED OF INTERFERING IN ZAIRIAN AFFAIRS, THE GOA HAS DECIDED TO MOVE ALL ZAIRIAN REFUGEES AWAY FROM THE BORDER AREA, TO THE INTERIOR OF ANGOLA. ALL ARMED KATANGESE ENTERING ANGOLA WILL BE DISARMED AND INCLUDED AMONG THOSE MOVED.

14. NASCIMENTO SAID ANGOLA IS NOW AWAITING A RECIPROCAL MOVE FROM ZAIRE. ANGOLA IS FULLY AWARE OF THE SUPPORT ZAIRE GIVES ANGOLAN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES, AND HAS SUFFERED MUCH FROM THEIR INCURSIONS. DISMANTLING THEIR BASES IN ZAIRE (ANGOLA HAS GIVEN ZAIRE A SPECIFIC LIST OF THEM) AND MOVING THE DISSIDENTS AWAY FROM THE BORDER WOULD BE "PROOF THAT ZAIRE IS WILLING TO MAINTAIN THE KIND OF RELATIONSHIP WE WANT AND WOULD CREATE THE BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF OUR PROBLEMS."

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15. COMMENT: THROUGHOUT THE TALKS, NASCIMENTO MADE CLEAR A TOTAL ANGOLAN DISENCHANTMENT WITH MOBUTU. "HE HAS NEVER KEPT ANY AGREEMENTHE MADE WITH US." HE DENIES ALL ALLEGATIONS OF SUPPORT FOR ANGOLAN DISSIDENTS. "HE GAVE KAUNDA ASSURANCES (REGARDING A ZAMBIAN, ZAIRIAN, ANGOLAN MEETING TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES) AND REPUDIATED THEM PUBLICLY THREE DAYS LATER." NASCIMENTO MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE IS NOT WILLING TO TALK WITH MOBUTU WITHOUT PRIOR ZAIRIAN ACTION VIS-A-VIS ANGOLAN DISSIDENTS IN ZAIRE. WHEN QUESTIONED RE POSSIBLE AFRICAN INTERLOCUTORS, HE DISMISSED THE NIGERIANS AND ENDORSED THE CONGOLESE.

INTERNAL SETTLEMENT

16. "FLNA AND UNITA ARE ENTITIES OF THE PAST." THEY ARE NO LONGER A MILITARY PROBLEM, BUT A POLITICAL ONE. THEIR POPULATONS HAVE REJECTED THEM, AND WITHOUT

EXTERNAL SUPPORT, THEY ARE LOST. THE PROBLEM IS, THEREFORE, NOT "RECONCILIATION" BUT ONE OF "REINTEGRATION." "WE MUST DEVELOP A POLITICAL PROGRAM THAT WILL MAKE THEM UNDERSTAND OUR SYSTEM, THEN THEY WILL JOIN US VOLUNTARILY." THIS IS AN INTERNAL PROBLEM, ONE FOR US TO SOLVE WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCES.

CUBANS AND SECURITY

17. "IT IS NO BARGAIN, FOR US OR FOR THE CUBANS, TO MAINTAIN LARGE NUMBERS OF CUBANS HERE." BUT THEY ARE HERE TO SECURE OUR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. OUR PREFERRED SOLUTION IS POLITICAL, TO REMOVE THE THREATS FROM OUR BORDERS. WE COULD IMPROVE OUR DEFENSE BY
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MORE SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS, SUCH AS MISSILES, BUT ALL DEFENSE IS EXPENSIVE. "EACH BULLET COSTS US ONE KILO OF COFFEE EXPORT OR A BARREL OF OIL." NEVERTHELESS, "WE COULD NOT ACCEPT CONDITIONS WHICH WOULD REMOVE THE CUBANS FROM HERE IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH YOU."

18. NASCIMENTO WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE SOMETIMES IS PUZZLED BY US POLICY. "WERE I IN THE PRESIDENT'S CHAIR IN WASHINGTON, I WOULD THINK THAT THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE A REMOVAL OF THE CUBANS WOULD BE TO ESTABLISH ANGOLAN SECURITY, NOT TO MAKE ANGOLA LESS SECURE. THE BEST WAY TO ASSURE THAT A COUNTRY REMAINS NON-ALIGNED IS NOT TO ATTACK IT, SINCE THAT INDUCES A DEFENSIVE REACTION."

19. IN ANY EVENT, PER NASCIMENTO, "THE CUBANS ARE HERE AND WILL REMAIN HERE." THERE IS NO OTHER WAY TO MAINTAIN OUR INDEPENDENCE, AS COSTLY AS THE BURDEN MAY BE."

US-ANGOLAN RELATIONS

20. CLEARLY STATED AT THE BEGINNING, AND RECURRENT THROUGHOUT THE TALKS, WAS THE CONCEPT THAT BOTH SIDES WERE INTERESTED IN IMPROVING RELATIONS, IF POSSIBLE WITH THE VIEW, OVER TIME, OF REESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC TIES. BOTH AGREED THIS EXTENSIVE EXCHANGE HAD BEEN INFORMATIVE AND USEFUL, AND THAT WHILE THERE REMAIN AREAS OF SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES, WE SEEM TO BE SEEKING THE SAME GOALS, IF DEFINED AS PEACE AND STABILITY IN SOUTH/CENTRAL AFRICA.

21. OUR PRIMARY MESSAGE TO THE ANGOLANS, PER THE DELEGATIONS GUIDANCE, WAS THAT OUR AIMS ACCORD WITH THE ANGOLAN DESIRE FOR STABILITY AND SECURITY;

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REMOVAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES FROM NAMIBIA THROUGH INDEPENDENCE; RESOLUTION OF ZAIRIAN/ANGOLAN BORDER QUESTIONS VIA A PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION AND ACCOMMODATION, AND AN INTERNALLY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT INSIDE ANGOLA. THESE OBJECTIVES, WHEN ACHIEVED, WOULD REDUCE OR ELIMINATE THE NEED FOR LARGE NUMBERS OF CUBAN FORCES IN ANGOLA, A PRESENCE WHICH NOT ONLY GIVES THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT MUCH CONCERN BUT ALSO ONE WHICH GIVES RISE TO CONTINUING QUESTIONS AS TO THE REPRESENTATIVE NATURE OF THE LUANDA GOVERNMENT.

22. DURING COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS, DELEGATION FOUND IT NECESSARY TO EMPHASIZE (BEYOND GENERAL ARGUMENTATION PERTAINING TO ALL SUBJECTS COVERED) THAT:

(A) THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS PROVIDING NO ASSISTANCE, DIRECT OR INDIRECT, TO ANGOLAN DISSIDENT GROUPS, INCLUDING UNITA, AND THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE POINT OF SUCH AID WITH OTHERS;

(B) WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRE IS BEING USED IMPROPERLY OUTSIDE ITS BORDERS;

(C) THE US (AND OTHERS) HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO THE GOZ THAT FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRE WILL HINGE ON IMPLEMENTATION OF COMPREHENSIVE REFORMS, INCLUDING, HOPEFULLY, THOSE WHICH WILL TEND TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF TENSION BETWEEN ANGOLA AND ZAIRE.

23. FULL MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION PREPARED. SUBSIDIARY REPORTS ARE NOW UNDER PREPARATION. THEY INCLUDE OUR ANALYSIS AND COMMENTS ON THE MAIN THEMES OF THESE CONVERSATIONS, DELEGATIONS' VISITS TO TWO IMPRISONED AMERICAN MERCENARIES, OUTLOOK OF WESTERN
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DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY AND OTHERS. GARDNER UNQUOTE
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